162 true numbers. As recipients of aid programs, their rations
114 are based upon the number of members per family. For these
[657] purposes, they are anxious to present as high a population figure as possible. They exaggerate their livestock count in order to receive more fodder, and, at other times, underestimate their numbers to escape taxes.

162 For purposes of this study, the Bedouin population of
161 al-Qasr is about 1,500 to 3,000. Most of this population lives
361 on the coastal area and in the cultivable wadi areas. The remainder is scattered south of the plateau region, near the
621 desert proper. The 'izba sector of al-Qasr may be described
*613 as a nucleated cluster or settlement, but due to the nature of the Bedouin segmentary lineage system, with its relatively autonomous kin-based residence groups, this sector lacks the usual degree of social interaction and integration associated
621 with the village or hamlet. The 'izba might be described as a
*613 multi-nucleated settlement or cluster. Each lineage has its
423 own mintaqa. Each mintaqa usually has a small dry-goods store
631 owned and operated by a lineage member and catering chiefly
•443 to his own lineage-mates. Water and land in the 'izba sector
423 are individually owned. In the barley-pasture area, rights
*613 and privileges of ownership are vested in the corporate group,
621 even though the Bedouins and the government claim that tribally
423 owned land is illegal. All land boundaries, whether a mintaqa or an individual's plot, are well-marked and well-known. The

These gardens

433 furnish staples for local consumption and more cash crops for
241 the Marsa Matruh market. Matruh is dependent upon these
311 vegetable goods from al-Qasr, to the extent that the Governor
434 has forbidden the Bedouins to truck their goods to the higher
443 priced market in Alexandria.
[656]

654 The success of arboriculture in al-Qasr has been the
245 result of a well-organized reclamation program in this area
177 by the government. The relatively good supply of fresh water
433 and the proximity of a large market town has made al-Qasr an atypical case in the government's attempt to transform the desert pastoral economy. Since 1960, the government's program has met with a great deal of success. Such results have, of course, induced the Bedouins of al-Qasr to accept change, and have further enhanced the future of the program. The figures below show, as of 1964, the plant distribution of orchards in the 'izba of al-Qasr, and indicate the measure of success attained by the governmental reclamation program.

The environmental conditions of al-Qasr are particularly well-suited for the olive tree: the olive has been the basis of the economic transformation of al-Qasr. The Bedouins tend to play down the government's role in developing olive arboriculture in the al-Qasr area. But before 1960, only the very
[556] wealthy men could afford to deal in the olive market, since it involves a great initial financial risk. Hence, prior to the entry of the government's program, there were 2,743 olive trees

*613 with Bait Bu Taram of 'Ailit Lazumi. These marriages and
159 their resultant alliances enhance the political power and
581 social status of Hajj 'Ali within and without al-Qasr.
156

Although he has no education himself, and neither reads
159 nor writes, Hajj 'Ali has sent his son to the University of
156 Alexandria. Hajj 'Ali's son is the only boy from al-Qasr
873 [212] ever to attend the university. Hajj 'Ali desired that his
son study law at the university or enter the military academy
"and become an officer." But his son objected to this, saying:
"Either way I will be employed by the government and will not
be permitted to travel and see other countries." Hajj 'Ali did
not argue with this: he said that his son should study what
he wished. The son is now studying in the Faculty of Commerce
156 at Alexandria. Hajj 'Ali is also sending his daughters to
159 the primary school in al-Qasr. Not all of the Bedouins believe
872 562 that girls should receive an education.

156 Hajj 'Ali places among the "status group" in terms
159 of wealth. Although he has now committed himself to olive-
554 farming as a way of life, he remains one of the biggest sheep
472 owners in al-Qasr. Therefore, he is identified with both tra-
ditional and modern symbols of status. Hajj 'Ali differs in
156 one important way from other members of the "status group"
159 in that he owns three small general stores, two in al-Qasr
554 • 443 and one far to the west in Sallum. This fact has several
423 472 significant implications. Shops in al-Qasr (there are five

*[613]

156 of them) cater largely to the needs of the lineage in whose
159 territory they are located. They are operated mostly on a
554
● 443 credit basis. Lineage members, as debtors, feel gratitude
423 but also, and more importantly, loyalty toward their kinsman
472
* [613] and creditor. Hajj 'Ali is the only member of al-Qasr who
[452] owns two shops, and the only Bedouin in the whole Western Desert
who owns three shops. His brother owns a shop in Matruh.
156 Furthermore, the shop in Sallum is in a strategic position on
159 the Libyan border which, coincidentally or not, is a point
554 for importing, and also smuggling, foreign goods into Egypt.
443
439 The possession and utilization of foreign products is definitely
472 a status symbol all over Egypt. Hence, the person in this
area who can control, however slightly, the distribution of
such goods has a lever with which to exact prestige and
favors from the "status group" in al-Qasr who now welcome
these symbols (tobacco, pistols, rifles, radios) and the
bureaucrats of Marsa Matruh who crave them (food goods,
clothing materials, car parts).

156 Besides all this, Hajj 'Ali is involved in a small
159 stone-cutting operation which supplies stones for house
554 building, he cooperates with his three brothers in a well-
[316] cleaning concern, and contracts government heavy equipment
[312] to build earth dams. The material evidence of his status
[427] is that he is the only man in al-Qasr with two compound-type
[342] houses (one he built thirteen years ago), and the only man
[595] with four wives.

236 Wool is also very important to the economy of Awlad Ali. Lamb's
286 wool is either sold or spun and woven into rugs. Goat's wool is spun and woven to provide the cover for the tents.

231 Sheep and goats are rarely slaughtered for meat except on special
[262] occasions. Most male and many female lambs and kids are sold in the
[432] market and the money is used to buy the necessary supply of food (like
[438] tea, sugar, salt, etc.), clothes, and other household items. Most of
438 these items are obtained from the shops in the settled communities in
439 the area, although some of the major items can be obtained only from
443 large urban centers like Alexandria.

231 The other domesticated animals that Awlad Ali keep are the donkey
492 for transport and riding, a few camels for heavy transport and also for
[236] wool, very few horses for riding on special occasions (they are con-
[554] sidered as a status symbol for those who own them), and the dog to guard the camp and to protect the herds from wolves and other predators.
235 Poultry are usually kept for meat and eggs which are sometimes sold by
432 the women in the nearby markets.

233 The main occupation in the area is stock raising. Grazing lands
137 extend generally south of the cultivated land in the northern strip.
[32] The growth of pasture plants is affected by the amount of rainfall in a particular year. Low rainfall causes acute shortages of pasture and herbage, and leads to the death of animals by both starvation and thirst. Pasture plants comprise a wide variety of bushes, scrub, and many other species of grasses, most of which have a very short life span. These plants normally persist from December to May; then the land is turned into arid, hard desert with only a few dispersed patches of dry grass.

682 settlement is usually made after the parties have agreed to it,
627 yet, in certain instances where one of the parties later feels that
672 the settlement was not just or that he was coerced into accepting
695 it, he may ask for a second Mi'ad during which new procedures start
in the case. In the present case, although Mahdi had originally
accepted the judgment of the awaqil, as time passed and he real-
ized that he was unable to pay the bloodmoney, he started to ques-
682 tion the feasibility of the settlement. He discussed the matter
672 with Sheikh Suliman el-Gerery from the Murabiteen tribe of Gerera,
695 a tribe whose members are feared throughout the area for the belief
554 that they have certain supernatural powers. Sheikh Suliman himself
792 is highly respected, and people believe that after his death he will
[776] become "wali" or a saint. After hearing Mahdi's complaint, Sheikh
Suliman told him that the settlement was unjust and told him that he
would do something about it. The following Thursday, Sheikh Suliman
called on Mahdi and asked him to bring his donkey and follow him.
They rode to a small desert town called Bahig where the local market
613 is held every Thursday. On market day, the awaqil of various tribal
517 segments usually gather in front of the general store in the town
571 drinking tea and chatting until their sons or the younger members
443 of their families sell the sheep and buy the necessary items. Every-
576 one passing by the gathering is expected to greet the gathering, get-
ting off his donkey as a sign of respect to the prominent people.
[589] Failure to greet a fellow tribesman is considered a serious offense
liable to a fine of more than L. 50 and ten goats in certain cases.
[673] It is considered a very serious crime. One informant once told me,
000

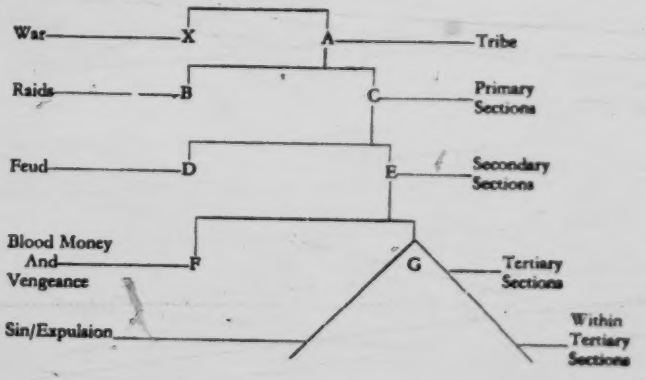
5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

would have dropped in on the camp. In another situation, two men entered a shop in a market-place; inside sat two men of a feuding group who, instead of retreating hastily, greeted those who had just entered, and the latter returned the greeting with blows on the head from the butts of their rifles. Markets in Cyrenaica are recognized to be places of peace. In their actions the two offenders not only injured two others but also broke a taboo in a public place. The victim's group now had to avenge not only the injury but the insult that the breach of taboo carried with it, as well. In most feud relationships this is characteristic. It is never a matter of a simple homicide, but of killing a man at the entrance to his tent, between the centre poles of his tent, or taking the life of a minor, or an elder too old to carry arms and so on. Each successive killing ensures that the hostile relationships will be perpetuated.

The third step in this exposition, therefore, is the association of a state of feud with the secondary order of segmentation.

When the relationships between the structurally superior primary tribal sections are examined, the arguments against the necessity for peace are stronger than in the case of secondary sections. Relationships between them are few and irregular. Only occasionally do members of these groups meet, and then often accidentally; very many men of collateral primary sections are complete strangers one to the other. If a homicide occurs between two primary sections it is unlikely that any attempt to open negotiations will be made. The offender's camp may be raided by a *ghazi* recruited from the victim's kinsmen. There would be no question of these primary sections going to war. On a raid firearms may be used, but the action is limited to a strike-and-run affair. If the issue is joined and members of both sides are ranged against each other they fight with sticks to avoid large-scale slaughter: warfare must not be allowed within the tribe. Wars belong to intertribal relationships. For one of these wars, apart from hearsay evidence, some records exist. These tell of a war which took place during the period 1860 to 1865, in which there were planned campaigns, the organization of fighters into groups, and provisions for a labour force in the home territory, large enough to produce sufficient food to maintain an army in the field. During this war several hundred people were killed.

At this point, it is possible to summarize the stages in this exposition of the Bedouin view in diagrammatic form.



9: Murray E.K-3,4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Egypt

Had the Senussi been successful in the last war, they would no doubt have brought in the 'Ibeidat or the 'Awaqir from Cyrenaica to replace the Awlad 'Ali in Egypt.

At the present day the Awlad 'Ali, especially the eastern sections near the Nile Valley, have almost ceased to be nomadic, and only the old men have memories of their former warlike habits. They suffered considerably during the Great War, but are again becoming prosperous. They now own large comfortable tents, are beginning to build houses and clear out cisterns, and are also said to be increasing in numbers.[1] So civilized have they grown that my guides, one a Sinai Arab and the other an 'Abadi, concurred in calling them "green"—not real desert-worthy Bedouins.

Perhaps as a result of Libyan influence, or more probably the better nurture and climate, they are taller, heavier, stronger, and lighter-complexioned than the lightly built Arabs of Sinai and Hijaz. Also they are much franker and more straightforward than their shifty and suspicious eastern cousins, and altogether more trustworthy. Their women only veil themselves to strangers, and talk quite naturally and cheerfully to the men of their own tribe.

They cultivate as much barley as they can, using a primitive plough drawn by camels, in the clayey hollows scattered over their very stony limestone desert, but, as the rainfall is very uncertain, a good crop only occurs every five or six years. After harvest, they exchange some of their barley for maize, which the women grind to make bread as required, and some for dried dates. The seed for next year is buried in a hole lined with straw and covered with clay, and a year's forage for the animals is set aside. The rest of the crop goes to market, and for a short time the Arab has money to buy clothes for himself and his family and at utmost need to pay off some of the numerous debts he has inherited from his forefathers. Soon he is reduced again to the clothes he wears, the tent he sleeps in, and his animals grazing in the desert.

They are great breeders of camels and sheep, and a busy traffic in these goes on weekly in the markets of Hammam, 'Amriya, and the Beheira. So they have got into the habit

[1] At the 1927 census, the Western Desert Arabs, Awlad 'Ali, Jawabis, etc., numbered 38,928 souls exclusive of those settled in Beheira. But Pacho, 100 years ago, estimated them at 38,000 souls.